

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941

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852 The public part of the ceremony begins in the early morning
756 before relatives and neighbors. The shaman may confine his own
788 part to prayer and the giving of commands to an assistant, or he
may perform the ritual acts alone. The child is marked with
pollen or specular iron ore, and pollen is thrown to the directions.
One practitioner places four dots of pollen on the face of a boy for
whom he is officiating and traces a line of pollen across the bridge
[823] of the nose of a girl. The cradle, and sometimes the child, is held
to the cardinal directions, beginning with the east and proceeding
in the clockwise circuit. It is the "way" of one shaman to
hold up both child and cradle if the ceremony is for a boy but to
gesture with the cradle only if the infant is a girl. Finally, the
[574] cradle is faced to the east, and, after three ritual feints, the child
[601] is placed inside. A feast and social occasion follow. According to
one informant, a child may later address a parental or grand-
parental term to the person who lifted him into the cradle, even
though no actual relationship exists.

854 This rite is essentially a prayer that the child be spared to
occupy the cradle in the future, for it is not until a month or more
[852] has elapsed and "the neck is strong enough so that the head does
[856] not hang limply" that the child is kept continuously in the cradle.
[482] After that, the mother carries the cradle by a tumpline passing
across her chest or, more infrequently, over her forehead.
[492] Even when she travels on horseback, she often carries the cradle
strung across her hip by the carrying strap and suspended over
the side of the horse.

854 To the amulets and pendants supplied by the shaman the
789 mother generally adds some of her own. The right paw of the
badger, with grass substituted for the bone, is hung on the cradle
751 to guard the child from fright. Such protection is important, for
[825] fright lies at the root of a number of serious illnesses. Humming-
bird claws and pieces of wildcat skin also act as cradle charms.
[753] To ward off colds and other sickness, a length of cholla wood is
[824] often tied on the cradle. When anything is wrong with the child,
a growth found on the creosote bush is suspended from the
[755] canopy. It is a general rule that no one may step over a child or a
[784] cradle.

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the conclusion of the training period, some boys, to insure their competence in horsemanship, are brought to shamans who perform ceremonies for them originating in supernatural experiences with Bat; for the bat, because of its habit of clinging to objects, is associated with riding ability.

Sweat-bathing is utilized as an aid to fleetness: "Sometimes boys are put in a sweat lodge to make them good runners. They come out and run for about a mile; then they go in again if they wish. It makes them longwinded." In another account it is said that the young men emerge from the sweat lodge and run "while they are still warm." "If a man is training for running, he should keep away from women and should not drink or smoke." However, there is no taboo on the presence of women where youths are practicing running.

As the boy's training advances, the circle of those who are interested in his progress steadily enlarges.

I was a small boy, about nine years old, when I saw this. I remember it well. Many boys in my time saw what I'm going to tell you about. It was just before Geronimo's last war, about 1884 or 1885.

Old Man C. had an orphan boy. He was rearing and training that boy. He had taught him how to ride well. The boy was about fifteen or sixteen years old and was well trained as a warrior. He knew how to shoot an arrow, how to use a sling, how to shoot with guns. He was a good hunter; he could shoot deer. He was as good as the average man, though he was just a young boy.

One man had made tiswin [a weak beer made of maize]. C. went to a crowd of men who were drinking. He said, "I've got a boy. I am his uncle. The boy can ride any horse bareback without a rope on it."

"Well," one man said, "we all like to see things like that. We will bet you two big jars of tiswin. You get that boy; let him ride down that steep hill bareback."

In those days one jar of tiswin was worth a horse, and a horse was very hard to get. That much tiswin was worth a belt and cartridges, or a gun and belt. Guns were hard to get in those days too. So C. told the man, "Give your horse to him. Any side of the hill you want to have him ride is all right."

Nobody knew then that this boy was so well trained. C. had been out training him somewhere away from the rest of the people. The man took the bronco on the side of the hill, and the boy was called over there. The horse had a rope on but no saddle.

Just as soon as C. spoke, the boy would do what he said, whether it was dangerous or not. That boy rode the horse down the hill just like nothing! The horse pitched all around with him but could not shake him off. So C. got the tiswin, and he was drinking and got feeling good.

In those days the warriors never went without their guns. They always car-

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881 *The masked dancers.*—As the sun starts to go down, the paint-
535 ing and the dressing of the masked dancers begin. The men who
have agreed to dance make their way to a brush shelter erected
quite a distance from the ceremonial grounds, for it would be
dangerous to the people, and especially to the women and chil-
[976] dren, to have them "made" in the vicinity of the camps. Since
the dancers are impersonating mountain-dwelling supernaturals,
a place in the foothills surrounding the level dance ground is
most likely to be chosen. There the masked-dancer shaman waits
with dancing costumes and paints. The shaman rarely paints
[954] the dancers but directs his helpers and prays and sings, accom-
[534] panying himself with a buckskin-covered pottery drum. Upon
[531] this he draws figures, such as that of the sun, in pollen "to keep
[989] his voice from becoming hoarse."
[826]

535 The shaman may have some difficulty in assembling a dance
group, for the supernatural impersonator must obey irksome re-
strictions:

[821] You shouldn't wash the paint off. It sweats off while you are dancing and
when you put your shirt on. It is just clay and charcoal. Perhaps the second
night there will be just a faint mark left from the paint of the night before.
When the next paint goes on fresh, you can't tell that there was any paint on
there before. If you do have to get some off, you rub it but do not wash it off, for
if you wash, it will cause a big rain to come.

535 Mistakes during the dance are most dangerous:

784 Not many men want to dance; it can cause evil influence. They fear to get
753 into this costume just as they fear a coyote. If the dancer makes a mistake and
doesn't do things according to the ceremony, he will get sick. It is dangerous for
one dancer to touch another who has been made by a different shaman. The
power of one masked-dancer maker may be stronger than that of the other and
cause some disaster to a dancer. It sometimes causes a spasm [paralysis] in the
mouth, or trouble with the ear or eye, or a swollen face. Then the only way is to
[956] go through a ceremony and have the masked dancers blow the sickness away.

The dancer must be quite as particular about other points. If
he should place the mask over his head without the proper ritual
gestures, he is likely to go mad. He must show proper reverence
as well:

"One time I was dancing for D. Three of us were dancing—S., T., and I. It
was S.'s first time. He was speaking in English, cursing while they were painting
him. You know he is just like a mocking bird; he doesn't respect anything.

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The old man said, "Look here, that kind of talk doesn't go here! You men should be praying in your hearts. Pray for all the good things. Be saying, 'Let me be a reliable masked dancer. Let me be reliable in life.' That's what you should be doing while you are in this brush hut."

Just as soon as the old man stopped talking, there S. was again, cursing. Well, we went out, the three of us. We came toward the fire. The last minute S. was putting on the mask. He couldn't get it on. He said, "I can't get this damn thing on! How does this damn thing work?" I told him, talking softly, "Don't talk that way." You can't talk in a loud voice when you are in the mask. "Have some manners!"

The old man heard and said, "Hey, what are you doing? Now if anything happens to you, you'll say you are witched, but I warned you." S. said, "Oh, I always forget."

We went out to the fire. The first time we approached the fire, S. bumped into me. I heard him laughing. Every time we went around and started toward the fire he bumped into me. I said softly, "Keep your distance and be careful." I was leader. He was right behind me.

All of a sudden I noticed S. was putting his hands to his head. He just took his sticks and pressed them to his head. Then I saw him break out of line and run away from the fire. He ran right to his camp, pulling off his mask. His camp was just a little way from the grounds. They found him there crying and yelling and rolling around.

Pretty soon they sent a message to D. "That man who danced for you is pretty sick," they told him. The next time we came out from the fire, D. came to us. "We'll have to go right over and see that boy," he said. So we went over. S. was just like out of his head. He was rolling around, trying to stand on his head. They couldn't hold him down.

D. told me to work on him, because I was the leader. T. came behind me in the dancing, but I was the only one that touched S. The old man was singing his songs and praying while I was working on S. First I came toward him from the east. The fourth time I crossed my sticks over his head. Then I grabbed his head in both hands and shook it, shook it hard. You can't be gentle with them. Besides I was angry at missing the dancing over there at the grounds all because of his foolish talk. He yelled, but I pulled him around good. I did this from the south, west, and north too. Each time I shook him we made the masked-dancer call, and then I blew his sickness away to the four directions, beginning with the east.

After I finished, D. said to him, "Now you're all right; nothing is the matter with you. Get up, no matter how you feel, and follow these men." So S. followed us, and we went around once and then went toward the east.

"All right," said D., "you fellows go back and dance. He will be better now. He will be over there at the feast pretty soon."

So we went back. While we were dancing I watched for S. I looked around every once in a while to see if he was there. Pretty soon I saw him there, laughing and clapping his hands, having a good time. It was just about an hour after we

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had worked on him. I don't know what made that fellow well. I didn't do it. I just followed D.'s directions. It wasn't I but it was D.'s power that did it. The old man knew what was wrong with S. and how to cure him.

As this story indicates, whenever the dancer gets into difficulty because of his participation, it is to the masked-dancer maker that he must turn. Said one of these shamans, "If a dancer who is working for me gets a pain in his foot, I put a feather on his foot, and it goes away."

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The dancer must observe suitable modesty and remember that he is but an instrument of the rite and not its owner:

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One man got into trouble from this. He danced three or four times. Then he made his own outfit and carried it on, though he had no right to the ceremony. Soon his baby got sick, and no one could cure her. When she died she made the masked-dancer cry and held her hands outward.

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When I asked a man who had acted as a masked dancer to sketch the designs which had been put upon him, he replied that he was not sure he could do this. Later he refused entirely, saying, "I asked T. if I could draw his masked dancers, and he said, 'You'd better leave those Mountain Spirits alone,' so I can't do it."

The subordinate role of the masked dancer is emphasized in another statement:

If I learned that song without getting the whole ceremony, without having the whole thing turned over to me, if I didn't get it in a spiritual way, it wouldn't do me good. If I painted a man, I might do it in this same way, but it would just make both of us sick. I can pound on the hide and sing the refrain with the chorus, but I shouldn't sing the words of the prayer in the [masked-dancer] song if it isn't mine. The dancer is just in there working for the one who knows the ceremony. I can't tell, just because I danced for him, whether R.'s masked-dancer ceremony is good. He has a good outfit all right.

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A man must have natural aptitude to become a successful dancer:

According to my understanding about being a masked dancer, it comes like anything else. After you do it once the feeling for it comes to you if you are the right kind for it. I did exactly as I was told, and right from the first time I was almost as good as the best dancer. I ran around that fire all night long. Right from the beginning I was getting better every night. And I was dancing with old-timers. People hardly knew the difference between me and those other dancers.

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881 arena. Sounding their call, they burst into the open space from
535 the east at a trot and circle the fire. They are greeted by the cry
of the women and the prayers of the devout.

.... They would come down at night carrying a big light. When they first came down the hill, even if the camp were a large one, they used to go around to each home and not miss a single one. Just as soon as the people saw them coming they began to pray. "Men of the Mountain," they would say, "I wish you would protect me. If anything comes to hurt me, stand in front of me and help me."

881 First the dance group "worships the fire" from the directions:
535 This is what the old man told me when I was the leader of his dancers. "The
392 first time you come in and go to the fire, go around it four times. Then approach it from the east. When you get within about eight paces of the fire, just when the light begins to shine on you, sound the masked-dancer call. Then go around the fire once. Stop at the south, go toward the fire, sway and make the call in the same way. Do the same from the west and the north. Next come back where you started from, the east, and worship the fire again from there."

881 Sometimes the ceremonial structure is circled and "blessed,"
535 each pole being approached in clockwise rotation by the single
[346] file of dancers and clasped by the leader. Then the dancers trot off to the east and vanish in the darkness. On their way through the camps they may dance back and forth before a dwelling where there has been sickness or trouble. The entire encampment may be circled, and sickness frightened away by gesticulation and blowing.

881 With the arrival of the dancers, the restrictions applicable to
535 the onlookers come into force. No one may address or call the
784 name of an impersonator whom he recognizes; no one may point, with hand or lips, to a masked dancer; nor may anyone touch a dancer when he is in costume. "If you don't worship them in the right way, you should be frightened." However, neither men nor
[796] women confuse the impersonators with the actual Mountain Spirits. "The dancers do not turn into the real Mountain Spirits while they are dancing. They stay men but just get more strength." The restrictions are obeyed, not from fear of the

"A term for Mountain Spirits indicating greatest respect and used when supplicating these supernaturals or when there is reason to fear them.

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power of those dancing, but because "the real Mountain Spirits could bring on sickness or death if these things were violated."

The added strength of the masked dancers is attributed to the costumes they wear:

The costume gives the dancer strength. He doesn't get tired. There are no holes near the nose for breathing in the masks. The man wearing the mask is fighting for breath. When he gets tired, he runs his sticks around his body and then flourishes them in the air, and in this way he rids himself of his tiredness. If it was not for this, he couldn't last through one song.

When the masked dancers return, a knot of men assembled just northeast of the entrance of the ceremonial structure is ready to beat out the measure of the songs with stout sticks on a thick piece of rawhide. Others hold buckskin-covered pottery drums which they will strike with curved drumsticks.

From the east the masked dancers spring into the glare of the firelight and move swiftly around the fire:

When the leader of the masked dancers throws his arms wide, this means to the singers that they are to begin. The men at the rawhide know that this is the signal. If they don't start to sing, the dancers go past them, then turn toward them and repeat the gesture. If they don't start then, the dancers can leave the grounds if they want to. Many times I have done that. I figured, "Well, I'm not going to let them just watch me! It's no use to run around here without any song." Sometimes, as you come toward the rawhide after blessing the fire, they start right in. Then, as you go past, you cry, "Hoo-hoo-hoo!" which is just like saying, "That's fine! That's what we want!" The masked dancers can't talk but they make that sound. It means, "Go ahead and sing." I was told to make the masked dancer call when turquoise, abalone, cloud, Mountain Spirit, White Painted Woman, and other holy things and people were mentioned in the songs.

The songs to which the dancers perform at the feast grounds are not the same as those to which they were painted but are associated with definite dance steps. The shaman may know and use both kinds of songs, but just as often another person will lead the singing during the evening. The relatives of the adolescent girl have to make sure that some qualified person will be present to perform this function.

I am an official singer for masked dancers. The parents of the girl will ask me to sing at their feast. They pay me. I will be singing for one family. I learned these songs. I sat in and gained experience. No one else would sing my songs. It's not done.

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save about four good masked dancers, keep them fresh. These go around for about an hour and chase all the people out to dance. They even chase them from their camps and get them out of bed. They bring out the girls and make them dance. The masked dancers do not push the people toward the dance grounds with their hands. They just make the noise and motion with their sticks. They get a girl and give their cry and bring her out. I have gone after them this way. Toward morning even the girl for whom the feast is given can be brought out to dance.

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The restriction against speaking lapses for the masked dancers at this time:

The masked dancer asks a girl, "Who shall I get for you to dance with?" The girl says, "That man by the fire." So the dancer goes over there and pulls that fellow. The man never pulls back. He has to go and dance.

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The relaxation of the masked dancer's semisacred role goes even further:

The last night the masked dancer can dance with any girl if she chooses him, and this girl has to be paid. But the feast-maker has to pay her for him. The masked dancer has been helping him all night, so of his own accord the feast-giver walks out there and pays the girl. I have seen that happen many times.

Every man has to compensate his partner at the close of the dancing:

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One time everyone was paying but one man. He had nothing with him, but he must have had some horses over at his camp. This man walked around there and picked up a dry ball of horse dung. He walked back to the place where the other men were paying the women. He went to the girl he had danced with and right before the crowd he handed her the horse dung. Even in those days very few knew the meaning of this. Horses were very scarce then, and it was pretty hard to part with a horse and give it to anybody.

The girl receiving the horse dung didn't know the meaning of it. She took it home to her people, to her camp. She told her father and mother, "This is all I got!"

Her father was an old man and knew what it meant. He told her right away, "That's more than the other people got over there. That means a horse; that man means he is going to give you a horse." Sure enough, that came true.

Upon the givers of the feast falls the responsibility of seeing that all participants are satisfied with their rewards: "If a girl is not paid and the boy runs away, she can go to the ones giving the ceremony or to someone in authority there and protest. This has been done." As a final gesture of appreciation toward

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ment for this. It is like an issue¹⁴ to the boys that comes automatically. This comes from a certain kind of shaman who has to do with war. The drinking-tube is given by the same person and is issued in the same way. The shaman has prayers to the directions. He throws pollen to the directions as he makes these things. The tube and the scratcher have a lightning design on. When the boy comes back, he returns the hat, scratcher, and tube to the shaman. The shaman can use them again for others.

"One who is a novice is different from the others." The difference is in the first instance a ritual one: "The older men treat the novices reverently because these young men are on one of their first raids and there are restrictions upon them." Like the pubescent girl, the novice is identified with a supernatural. "On the raid and warpath the men call the novice Child of the Water." Sacred aspects are further emphasized by behavior and food restrictions:

The novice, when he first gets the tube and scratcher and goes out with the others, cannot turn around quickly and look behind him. He must glance over his shoulder first. And in facing the other way he has to turn toward the sun first, the way they throw pollen. Bad luck would come to the party if this was not done.

If the boy does not use the scratcher, his skin will be soft; the flesh will be no good. He has to use the tube for all drinking. It is a rule that is put upon the boy. If he does not use the scratcher and tube, his whiskers will grow fast.

There is also a very strict rule against a novice having sexual intercourse while he is out.

Another thing: he must use the words that have been taught him. If he disobeys in this, he will be very unlucky.

Novices are not allowed to eat warm food, but must eat it cold. If they have to cook the food, they must let it get cold before they eat it. If the novice eats warm food, horses will not be worth anything to him. He is not allowed to eat entrails either. If he eats entrails, he will not have good luck with horses. Meat from the head of an animal is forbidden to him also.

To these rules various informants have added others. The novice should not gaze upward when he is on the raid or a heavy rain will come. He is not supposed to laugh at anyone, no matter how amusing the situation. He must speak respectfully to all the men and must not talk freely or obscenely about women. He must stay awake until he is given permission to lie down; to go to

¹⁴The Chiricahua refer to rations and goods distributed by reservation officials and the military as "issues."

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sleep before the others would show indolence and would cause all the members of the party to be drowsy. The novice is cautioned against eating heartily lest he become gluttonous, and he is forbidden to eat choice parts of the meat or anything from the inside of the animal. When captured stock is killed on the return journey, the tough neck part is set aside for him. Also the ban against anything from the inside of an animal is then relaxed, and novices may be fed lung so that the stock will not become exhausted before the party reaches home.

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Although his conduct is so important for the success of the expedition, the novice is obliged to gain his practical experience in a subordinate capacity:

They take the novices four times for the rough work but won't let them fight. It is to toughen them, they say.

The novices have to get the water and wood and do the heavy work around the camp when the men stop for the night. The men order them around pretty much. They must get up early in the morning and build the fire and care for the horses if there are any along. They are told, "Go over there and get those horses," and they have to go pretty fast. They have to do the cooking and make beds for the men. Sometimes they carry provisions for the men too. The men make these boys stay up on guard. They are the only ones who do guard duty.

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The words which the boy learns and which he is instructed to use during his first four raiding journeys constitute a vocabulary of circumlocutory elements which replace ordinary forms of speech: "They had ceremonial words. Just the novice used them and only while he was out on the raid. The old men taught them these words and said, 'This is the novice's talk.'" In the raid or war vocabulary the term for heart becomes "that by means of which I live"; the customary word for pollen is replaced by a form which can be translated "that which is becoming life"; the owl is referred to as "he who wanders about at night," etc. Approximately eighty forms belonging to this special vocabulary have been collected. It is probable that the vocabulary was never a great deal more extensive, for the novice continues to designate most objects in the usual manner.⁴³

⁴³ For a full analysis of the vocabulary see Opler and Hoijer, "The Raid and War-Path Language of the Chiricahua Apache," *American Anthropologist*, October-December, 1940.

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nevertheless is called female rain." To stop rain or snow, lice are hunted and tied to a rock with sinew; or an individual may draw a charcoal ring around his anus and lift his buttocks to the sky to bring the sun out. Sudden storms are regarded with fear. "If it doesn't look like rain, but then the wind and dust come up suddenly and it starts to rain, it brings news—bad news of death. If someone is very sick and this happens, it means he won't last. I have seen it happen."

Various things are seen in the half or full moon, the most common being walnut or cottonwood trees and a human face. Some persons think that watching the sunrise or sunset colors will cause sickness. Warts are also the penalty for pointing to heavenly bodies with the fingers; only the thumb may be so used.

Pulling out gray hair is said to make it grow faster; it is also held that one who brings water and drinks first himself will grow old quickly. It is forbidden to step over a person who is sitting or lying down: "If someone starts to step over you before he sees you, he has to go back. If he has already stepped over, he has to step back." Because it "may cause a severe pain in the stomach, food which is being cooked is not stirred with a knife." Eating frogs can result, it is thought, in bowlegs. Blood and tobacco are considered incompatible:

My people don't want any blood around when they smoke. If there is blood on the hands, they will get it off before they smoke. If a person has a knife with blood on it, he cleans it up or puts it away before he smokes. He will have bad luck otherwise.

Much of the cosmology is expressed in terms similar to the beliefs already enumerated. Thus, the pitching of a flour-laden burro explains the Milky Way; an earthquake is the crying of the earth over an approaching epidemic; eclipses, either of the sun or of the moon, warn of epidemics also and necessitate a masked-dancer ceremony to ward off the disaster; a shooting star points to an advancing enemy; of a cloudburst it is said, "The sky is old and has split there; when it is sewed up it will be all right."

Of greater significance than such beliefs is a diagnostic sign, a muscular tremor, which few fail to heed at some time in their lives:

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remember the prayers. When a man is handing down power, if the one he is teaching cannot learn the prayers and the rest of the ceremony in four days, it is a sign that power does not want to come to him. But if the man learns easily, he is the type of person for the work, it shows. It is not a thing that the shaman has entire say about. He must consult the power, the source from which he gets his ceremony. The shaman chooses, but it must please the power.

Of the final act of the transfer, it was said:

He told us we would have to stay up with him for four nights and learn it. Then the last night, the last thing he will do is to put pollen in our mouths four times, and the fourth time the power will come to us.

Since the power could have rejected him, the student feels that he has been approved. The power, pleased with the new incumbent, appears to him, speaks to him, and performs all the services for him that it rendered his instructor. One who has learned a ceremony, if he is a more forceful and religiously minded person, may actually come to know the power better than his predecessor.

Sometimes the shaman who teaches another his ceremony does not insist on payment. More often, some payment is required or, nevertheless, proffered. In learning some ceremonies, the person "in training" must submit during the period of instruction to certain food and behavior restrictions. "If the new shaman does not follow the rules laid down by his instructor, he will lose the power."

There is no obligation to accept instruction from a shaman who is eager to give it. "I was approached by a man a long time ago who wanted to transfer his power to me. I told him, 'No, I am afraid of it.' Sometimes a person will want to hand down a ceremony, but no one will take it because it is so dangerous."

Personality differences of shamans.—Some individuals are definitely "ceremonial people." They claim the right to conduct a number of rituals obtained by personal vision experience, by instruction, or in both ways. "R. has all sorts of power in different ways; he's just full of it," was a remark made of one man. Of another great shaman, his son said:

My father knew Goose, Bear, Wolf, Lightning, and many other things. When he received his power, the last man in the cave [holy power home] said, "All these are under you."

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(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
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When you are frightened by the owl, your heart begins to flutter; your heart gets weak and you fall down. I can pray for a person who has been frightened like this and, even though his heart is beating only a little, can restore him so that he gets up again.

Another story, so well known that it has been recorded from four different informants, concerns the return of a woman's ghost to her former home:

A man and his wife lived out at Whitetail. About two years ago the wife died, and the husband continued to live at the same location, though he didn't use the place in which she had died. One night he heard a knocking at the door. Then something was calling him by name. He went to the door but could see no one. This happened for three nights. He was very frightened. He kept his gun ready.

There was a full moon the fourth night. He had gone to bed. He thought he heard a rapping on the window. He looked and was pretty sure he saw his wife's face. He tried to talk to her. He said, "Come in at the door; if you have anything to say to me, let us see each other face to face." But no one came in.

After a while he heard the rapping again. This time he shot, and he heard groans. He was afraid to go out until morning. When he went out the next morning, he found a dead owl lying by the window. The next day he told the story. He knew he wouldn't live long after that, and he didn't last long. He could have gone to an owl shaman, but he didn't care much about going on living after that.

It is evident that owl sickness is but one aspect of ghost sickness. But, though all owls are ghosts, the ghost need not take the form of an owl to frighten or harm the living. A whistling sound at night, when nothing at all is visible, is attributed to ghosts. This has given rise to a rule: "No whistling is permitted at night, for then the ghosts whistle back to you and scare you." There are ways of protecting one's self when the whistle of a ghost is heard:

When you get scared you get sick. If you go out on a dark night, you tie a small amount of ashes up and carry this. Put some ashes on your face too. When you hear a whistle at night, take some ashes and throw them in the direction of the whistle, and then the ghost gets frightened and doesn't scare you or bother you any more. Put ashes under your pillow too.

The shade may call attention to its proximity by other audible means:

A young man was walking up a canyon with a girl in the moonlight. He heard a horse coming, trotting along. He thought it was somebody from the camps,

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Since it is so dangerous when lightning strikes near by, everything is avoided that might "draw" it:

When I was little I was told not to have anything red around when it was raining. Even in camps we used to stick red things under something so they wouldn't show. We consider it dangerous to have red things out during a storm. It is because they draw lightning. Red is connected with lightning. And today the Chiricahua do not like anything red to be around when it rains, like a red blanket. It is covered up or taken off the bed.

During a thunderstorm the Chiricahua refrain from eating, even though the food is prepared and waiting. Eating during a storm causes much lightning, it is thought. Even if nothing else happens, a person who eats during lightning will lose his teeth.

A paint [pied or spotted] horse is dangerous during a thunderstorm. If you are riding one at such a time, you get off.

It is dangerous to have a little fawn around in the rainy season. If they find one, they get scared and let it go, for lightning is likely to strike you if you keep it.

The Mountain People are ordinarily pitted against disease, but they may themselves cause sickness if their rules are ignored. "The Mountain Spirits may cause you to become disfigured. That is why the masked dancers do not touch each other. Many are afraid of this sickness." Insanity may be regarded as punishment for omission of necessary ritual gestures during the masked-dancer preparation: "If the masked-dancer headdress is put on without ceremony, it makes you crazy; you see the Mountain Spirits all the time."

Menstrual blood.—Menstrual blood is dangerous for males, and girls are taught to dispose carefully of pads worn during the flow. The illness suffered by a man or a boy as a result of contact with menstrual blood is always described as rheumatism or malformation of the joints. The most serious form of the malady is contracted from union with a menstruating woman. "The Chiricahua are afraid to have intercourse with a woman during her period. It makes them misshapen and deformed. They become unable to straighten their arms or legs. I heard of one man who did this. This man was pointed out to me. He was deformed in this way."

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command and announces where and when the ceremony is to take place. He is free to enlist the help of the sufferer's relatives and he may direct them to build a special shelter with the door facing the east or to gather paraphernalia and plants.

[784] Many shamans, as a part of the ceremony, impose restrictions upon those who wish to watch the proceedings:

Some shamans don't allow barefooted people around when they are working, but not all are like this. Some don't allow you to scratch if you want to stay, but not all are like this either. Some tell you that you can't sleep while the ceremony is in progress. When we came to Geronimo's ceremonies he would warn us not to scratch or we would get a choking sensation then and there.

It is usually the close relatives, affinities, and good friends of the patient who are present. If the shaman is known for his dramatic performance, persons particularly attracted to religious spectacles also seek entrance. The shaman decides who may attend. Often fear of impiety or of witchcraft is a selective factor.

The ceremony ordinarily lasts four days, and the events open to the public take place on four consecutive nights, starting after dark and continuing until midnight. These are not inflexible rules, however. Food—often an abundant feast—is provided by the patient's relatives at the conclusion of each night's performance.

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Every shaman has paraphernalia of his own which he uses in his rite. Many of these ritual objects have a logical association with the power source.

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Usually, when a person gets power through some animal, he has four tokens of the animal with which he works—perhaps the hide, claws, tail, and paw. If his power is from lightning, lightning-struck twigs may be there. If the power comes from a bird, perhaps the tail feathers of that bird will have a place in the ceremony.

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There are a number of ritual objects which appear in almost every ceremony:

A shaman has pollen, paints, herbs, and a drum. Eagle feathers are usually used. Some wear a cap or a vest of buckskin when they sing. Some have a tray basket at their ceremonies with pollen, paint, and eagle feathers in it.

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Pollen, the symbol of life and renewal, is omnipresent on ritual occasions. Tule pollen is used most, but the power may request

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... They make steps of pollen just like those made at the girl's puberty rite and have the patient walk through. Anyone else who wants to can walk through after the patient finishes. They call it the trail of long life.

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The ground drawing, too, may be an important feature of a particular rite. The one discussed below was used against epidemics as well as to foil the enemy.

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I do not want to draw it because I do not know it. No one transferred the power to me, and it would not be wise for me to try it. This ground drawing was used in war too. Once it was used when I was there. A regiment of cavalry and a regiment of infantry were after us. This shaman drew the picture in pollen on the ground and left it there. Then we retreated to a hill. Both regiments turned off the trail and went back by a roundabout way, though the trail was plain, and they could have kept going. That is the way the ground drawing works. When it is used like this, the enemy is unable to follow. Something happens to the enemy always. They give up before they get to the place of the ground drawing, or they cannot pass it.

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Death in a near-by home is the one event considered serious enough to halt a ceremony already started. "If there is a death in the camps, they stop any ceremony going on. They won't pray even. The ceremony has to be started over again. It can start the day after the person is buried."

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Almost without fail, at the conclusion of a ceremony, the shaman imposes some food or behavior restriction upon the patient:

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A Chiricahua, in the house of another, always asks if he can do anything before he does it. His host might have had a ceremony performed after which he was told not to let people smoke before him, step over him, or do any of a number of other things. We have to be careful not to disobey any of these things and cause sickness or harm to a friend.

The shaman restricts his patients. He tells some not to eat liver, entrails, heart, head, or not to let anyone step over them, or stand to the east of them when they are sitting down, or suddenly appear behind them. Or he might tell them never to let the shadow of a buzzard fall upon them, or, if someone gives them a piece of fruit and it drops, not to pick it up again and eat it.

Usually these restrictions are scrupulously respected:

One woman here was shot. She had a curing ceremony performed over her by one who specializes in gun wounds. He told her she must not eat deer meat, and to this day she will not do so. I know her well. Once I offered her deer meat, and she would not take it.

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I went to visit C. I stood in front of him. He said, "Don't stand over me. Someone performed a ceremony for me and said that no one was to stand over me."

I never eat tongue myself. I had a ceremony performed over me when I was young, and at the end of it I was warned not to eat meat from the head of any animal.

A food taboo which becomes too irksome can be ceremonially lifted, however:

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The shaman tells you sometimes not to eat tongue or liver. If you don't want to keep away from this, after four days you cook liver or whatever it was he told you not to eat. Then he comes and marks it with pollen, puts it toward your mouth three times, and the fourth time you eat it. Then it is all right. This removal of the restriction is called "one can eat it again."

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At the conclusion of the ceremony the shaman may present the patient with a curative or protective amulet to hasten recovery and to prevent a relapse. This may be one of the four ceremonial gifts required by the terms of the rite, but more often it is something especial made by the shaman.¹⁹

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Often the shaman gives the woman patient a piece of decorated buckskin to wear on her hair. A turquoise bead might be given a man and a piece of abalone shell to a woman. Sometimes a buckskin jacket or cap is made for the patient by the shaman. Sometimes it is a feather, sometimes a cross. The patient is directed to wear this after the ceremony so the disease will not come back any more. Bags of paint or pollen are sometimes worn for good luck after a ceremony. Different shamans give different things to wear.

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Before the shaman departs on the fourth night, payment is made to him. Usually an understanding has been reached in advance. Sometimes the gifts are in view during the entire last evening, for supernatural power is well pleased when its ceremony is generously rewarded. More than the agreed amount may be placed before the shaman. Then, because the ceremonalist is grateful to the patient, he is expected to continue to pray for him and ritually protect him. In fact, some resentment may be felt when a shaman does not maintain interest in a case:

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¹⁹ In 1909, on the field expedition already mentioned, M. R. Harrington collected a large number of these amulets from the Chiricahua Apache. These objects are now in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, in New York City.

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By the ceremony of the Mountain Spirits the boys are restored to bodily perfection and are returned to their parents.

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Another story tells of the flight of a man from a large force of traditional enemies. He runs, praying, toward a place known to be a home of the Mountain People. At his appeal, Mountain Spirits swarm from the cliff wall, surround the enemy, and drive them into a cave which then closes upon them. This myth emphasizes the protective role of the Mountain People who guard the tribal territory and defend the people from enemies and disease.

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Another tale calls attention to the care which must be exercised during the masked-dancer ceremony and indicates the prominent place of the clown in the ritual. A shaman informs the people that he is going to paint masked dancers at a mountain far from the camps. He advises everyone, except the dancers and those who will assist him in preparing them, to stay on the flats below. Particularly does he warn parents to keep their children away from the place, and he reminds his hearers that they are not to call the names of the dancers when the performance begins. A little girl creeps up to the forbidden site, nevertheless, and mentions the name of an impersonator when the dancing starts. The shaman, immediately aware of what has occurred, tries to intercede for her with the Mountain People and finally conceals her under the fire. Soon Mountain Spirits come and displace their impersonators. On each of the first three nights a Mountain Spirit of a different color vainly leads the search for the miscreant. On the fourth night Long Nose or Gray One, the clown, heads the line and succeeds. For her impiety the girl is slain.

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Another myth stresses the penalty for disrespect toward the Mountain Spirits and suggests the association between the masked-dancer rite and ceremonial defense against epidemics. Masked dancers are joined by two mysterious strangers who are superlative performers. The people seek to learn their identity. After the dance of the fourth night, riders stationed on swift horses pursue the two strangers. But the fastest mounts are outdistanced, a rock wall opens to receive the runners, and

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the mortals realize that they have pursued actual Mountain Spirits. "Not long after that disease broke out among them and killed many of them."

The Mountain Spirits are held in such fear and reverence that those who have no ceremony from them are hesitant even to discuss them. One man explained, "I'm not supposed to tell stories about the Mountain Spirits because it is dangerous for me," and another said: "In order to use another word besides Mountain Spirit in the stories, a term 'man from the mountains,' is used. This is put in the story a few times to show that the Mountain Spirits are held in awe and to prevent harm befalling the teller."

Masked-dancer ceremonies, though they may be later taught to others, always originate in a personal supernatural experience. The following account is a good example of the type.

My father is a shaman. He got his ceremony when he was a young man. It was this way. You know that Guadalupe Mountain over here. It is a religious mountain, a holy mountain. My father says that this place is the home of Mountain People. He says a spirit came to him and told him to go into that mountain. Someone talked to him, but he did not see anyone. It was outside the mountain that something, or someone, told him to enter. That was the first time anything had spoken to him; he was getting his first power.

When he thought he heard a voice telling him to go into the cliff, he turned around and started to enter the mountain. The cliff opened like a door. He says that the clown met him at the door. The clown said, "Follow me," and they came to the first outside door. Near by was a great rock turning around and around. They call it by a name that means "rock that swings around together." My father says he was frightened, but the clown told him, "Don't be afraid. You must go through four doors, all different. Don't be frightened because the rock is acting this way." Then he said, "Sh! Sh!" pointing his forefinger at the rock, and the rock stopped. He told my father to follow him. They went on.

They came to the second door. There were two great snakes there, twisting and squirming, and biting at each other. They were guarding the door. They were not really biting each other, just trying to. They were not allowing anyone to pass. The clown said, "Do not be afraid of them." The clown went ahead, and my father was close behind. The clown said again, "Sh! Sh!" pointing his forefinger at the snakes, and the snakes stopped twisting and biting.

So they passed the snakes and went on to the next door, the third door. Here there were two big mountain lions, one on either side of the door. They were trying to keep everyone from going through that door. They had their mouths open, and when they saw my father they were just wild. The clown said, "You must not be afraid; they are not going to hurt you." The clown went on ahead,

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and he tells me that I must follow certain rules. For instance, for a headache I must not put a knife in a cooking pot.^{**} If I violate the rule, the disease will come back on me again. Or he may tell me to have the door of my house to the east. If I don't do this, if I violate this rule, the Mountain People will know whether I have done this or not, and the disease will come back to me.

It is up to the sick man to make gifts, anything he wants to give. After the fourth time the sick man is taken back to his own camp. In cases where the feather drops or the abalone drops, after the shaman leaves the man, he will keep on praying until the man gets well anyway.

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A Mountain Spirit shaman can also perform his rite without any dancers. If there is a sudden emergency, if the full ceremony would be too costly for his patient, or if he cannot find enough dancers, he uses only the headdresses which the dancers customarily wear, placing them against the body of his patient and gesticulating with them to the directions to send the sickness away.

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Many ceremonies cure the sickness of individuals, but the prevention of epidemics is a signal function of the masked-dancer rite. "When I hear of disease coming, I paint them and tell them to chase the disease away with the sticks," said a Mountain Spirit shaman. "When sickness is around, the masked dancers and the clown are made on a hill and then come to the people below, making fires on the way down. In this way they keep sickness away."

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It is at such times that the clown, who merely acts as messenger and funmaker at the girl's puberty rite, may come into his own:

The old man always told us that the clown was the most powerful of the masked dancers. He said, "People think that the clown is just nothing, that he is just for fun. That is not so. When I make other masked dancers, and they do not set things right or can't find out something, I make that clown and he never fails." Many people who know about these things say that the clown is the most powerful.

At times of danger or epidemic another masked dancer, Black One, is sometimes made:

There are different grades of masked dancers. There is the clown, and he is dangerous. Then there is Black One, and he is supposed to be very dangerous. Black One wears nothing but feathers on top of his mask. He is painted black.

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^{**} There is a general prohibition against stirring food with a knife.

755 At the conclusion of most snake ceremonies, as in the case of
262 other rites, food and behavior restrictions are imposed:

- 784 You must not stir boiling meat with a knife or use the knife as a spoon. If you should lie down flat on your back with your legs crossed, no one should step over your legs. A rope must not be used on a person who has been bitten. In using a rope you must not string it out toward your camp or house. You must always go out the door of the home or tent, not out of the sides. In quarreling you must use no words that have anything to do with the snake. You must not eat the marrow of leg bones. You must not eat meat from the breast of an animal.

751 Often the patient, after an attack of snake sickness, is given a protective amulet:

After you go through a snake ceremony, the shaman may make a bandoleer for you to wear, or give you a stone to wear, or make you an arm band, if you are a man. For a woman he may have a beaded strip which she should wear in her hair. These will make the patients immune so that the snake cannot harm them again.

825 Fewer data exist concerning the place of other reptiles in the ceremonialism. Of the gila monster it was remarked, "I hear it
[533] mentioned in the ceremonial songs of old Chiricahua, but that's the only way it's used now that I know of," and of the turtle:
[237] "Some shamans use the shell for the giving of medicine. B. gave me some in one. He marked the shell with pollen and gave it to
[788] me four times. They say that the turtle shell cannot be hit by
[773] lightning." The lizard appears in the myths as a helper of Child of the Water and the small animals in their triumphs over the monsters, and it is considered a potential source of supernatural power.

411 *Weapons.*—The ordinary protection afforded by weapons is
789 enlarged, in certain cases, to include supernatural help as well,
[533] and a set of songs and prayers known as "ceremony from the
[782] gun" (the same word means gun or bow) has arisen. Sometimes this ceremony is called "ceremony against the enemy."

Old Man S. was with Geronimo's bunch all through the war. . . . He has power from the gun, they say. They say he used to get out on the bank; all the soldiers shot at him and couldn't hit him. One who went to shoot him might fall down or drop his gun; then S. would kill him instead. Another man told me he knows a gun ceremony. He, too, went through all the wars safely. Geronimo is said to have known this ceremony. He never got hurt either. Something always

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HUNTING

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462 IN THE securing of sufficient food the preoccupation of the man is properly with the hunt. "They think they are doing enough by going around hunting all day and getting food together." Except for participation in occasional rabbit surrounds, women are not encouraged to show concern for matters pertaining to the hunt. "Women never go out hunting because they aren't strong and able to get around," it was explained; but another comment suggests that the idea of appropriate male and female spheres is quite as important a consideration.

[152] The Chiricahua don't like to see a man go out hunting with a woman, whether they're married or not. It's considered a disgrace. One man used to do this. He was so jealous he didn't like to leave his wife alone. The Whitetail people saw him going out hunting with his wife, and they criticized him and laughed at him.

224 Since the deer is the most important game animal, a hunting trip, unless it is otherwise stated, may be assumed to have as its goal the securing of venison. Whether or not a specific ceremony precedes the hunt, certain precautions are always observed:

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784 There are two things you cannot do before you go hunting. One is to eat onions. The other is to chew osha [*Ligusticum porteri*]. The deer will smell you if you do. Suppose you are going hunting tomorrow morning. You can't eat them tonight then. You can't even dig them the day before you are going out to hunt.

[252] But the Chiricahua eat onions with deer meat when they come back from the hunt. They use the onions raw while they are eating the meat or they boil the onions with the meat.

[302] When you are going hunting you take care not to clean yourself up. Perhaps you have been eating the meat of some animal and therefore have been rubbing the grease and marrow of the long bones on your face, legs, and arms. You keep this on. And you don't put anything else on yourself that may smell; nothing sweet-smelling like perfume [i.e., "Indian perfume," such as mint] can be used at this time.

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785 Fasting immediately before the hunt aids the chances for success:

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The proper care of the meat and the skeletal parts of the deer must be kept in mind until the animal is entirely consumed. It is forbidden to "take the meat when it is hot and blow upon it," for such action is likely "to blow the deer away." "We don't just throw the bones away. We are careful. We put them in a nice pile. They say if you throw the bones, it throws the deer away. You won't see any more deer when you are out hunting."

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Other safeguards are employed for individual ends:

Other things, like handling the meat a certain way, or not giving away certain parts, are done mostly at the direction of ceremonial men. If your luck has been bad and you've hunted all week without killing a thing, you might go to some man who has songs for this and ask him to help you. He will give you some restriction or rule on your hunting. That's how these things start.

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The game animal next in importance to the deer is the pronghorn or antelope. Separate hunts to obtain antelopes are less frequent, however; often such hunts wait upon a chance encounter which reveals the presence of the antelopes. In general, the same usages, ceremonial and practical, which mark the deer hunt are true for the antelope hunt. The solitary hunter makes considerable use of the antelope head mask. "They fix the antelope head for hunting. They take all the bone out, leaving only horns and ears. Only a man with ceremonial knowledge will do it, they say. They call hunting with a mask of this kind 'he slips up to it.'"

Stalking antelopes is even more time-consuming and difficult than approaching deer:

The antelopes live on the flats. They are harder to get near than deer. They are hunted like deer, with a mask. The hunter wears a jacket painted like an antelope skin. He has a stick in one hand. He imitates the walk of the antelope. If a herd of antelopes is seen in the distance, the hunter works up to them. It takes two or three hours sometimes, for it is necessary to advance slowly, acting just like the animals. The grass is tall, and the hunter keeps his head just above the grass.

The relay chase is used to secure pronghorns, too:

A group of about ten men sometimes goes off on horseback to hunt antelopes. When the antelopes are sighted, one bunch scatters the antelopes toward the other men who are strung along on horseback. When one horse gets tired, an-

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726 After the fast-loading gun with cartridges already fixed was in use, you had to
411 be very quick and a good warrior to use a spear. Not everyone used spears. Just
a few were brave enough to use a spear that close.

756 Before the beginning of the journey constant measures of a
726 religious nature are taken. Amulets are procured; protective
780 caps and jackets are made or refurbished; shamans are consulted
[089] concerning the probable outcome of the expedition. "The leader
goes to a shaman and says, 'You know something. Help us.
What will happen?' Then the shaman sings and prays and he
tells the people to go on, that they will have success." Some-
times the prophecies of the shaman are not so reassuring, how-
ever. "Before they leave camp they might all go in a body to the
shaman. He conducts his ceremony, and if he feels that the raid
will not come off safely, he says so, and the party does not go
out."

Raiding and warfare are the special interests of those who
have supernatural power to find or frustrate the enemy. There-
fore, one or more shamans are fairly sure to accompany any
large war party. Not infrequently the leader himself is a man re-
nowned for his religious attainments as well as for his military
prowess. During the entire course of the journey the advice of
those who claim revelations in regard to war are treated with re-
spect. Even if the party does not include eminent shamans, the
rank-and-file warriors do not fail to come ritually prepared:
[098] "Each warrior carries a bag of pollen. Pollen is given to him with
[278] other herbs if he gets sick [during the war expedition]."

726 The entire encampment gathers to watch the departure of the
group. "They start sometime in the morning. When they are
going for a real fight, everyone sees them off. When the men
[198] leave in the morning, the women give their call of applause."

722 The women, especially the wives of the departing men, have
562 certain obligations during the absence of the warriors:

• 784 The women are careful about keeping the woodpile neat while the men are
gone. The wood should be placed one way and should not be scattered, and the
children should be kept off it for fear they will throw it around, and then the man
will be lost. There are no other restrictions on the women when the husbands are
out fighting. Some women pray when their husbands are out. Some are as reli-
gious as anything, but this praying is not general. During raids or wars the

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women had to be good and behave carefully so as not to give bad luck to the man. All of a man's relatives were under this restriction.

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When a very prominent man with many relatives has been slain, or when an attack on an unguarded camp has aroused great anger, caution is forgotten. "When we are at war and out for a fight, we go right to the trail and face the enemy in the daytime. We are not particular."

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Once a San Carlos Indian cut off a Chiricahua's head, and it led to much trouble and an outbreak. J. was right in the particular Chiricahua bunch when it happened.

Some Chiricahua had been away from the reservation. The U.S. army men had been after them and had offered twenty-five dollars for every hostile Chiricahua's head brought in. This bunch of Chiricahua decided to come in. They came close to the agency and were eating there. They put J. on a ridge to watch and stand guard. Finally J. was relieved by another boy, a good-looking young Chiricahua. A few minutes later, as he was sitting on the ridge with his gun across his knees, looking in the opposite direction, a San Carlos Indian crept up behind him and shot him. As soon as he shot, he was on this boy with his knife and cut his head off.

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The rest of the Chiricahua came up and saw what had been done. They were as angry as could be. They found out who had done this and went down to his camp to get him. But he had been warned and got away. His wife and several children were there, though, and they killed them and left them lying right there. They went out and began shooting into other near-by San Carlos camps. They were so angry they didn't care what they did. Then they made for the hills. And so there was another outbreak.

But ordinarily rage is tempered by reason, and the war party moves in a disciplined way:

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When they start out they have two men ahead and two behind; they have scouts on every side. When they are ready to camp for the night, they send scouts ahead and in the directions to look for the enemy until dark comes. Early in the morning they do the same. These scouts come back and report.

On the march "the men of each cluster [extended family] stick together near their own leader." But, generally speaking, each person is responsible for his own welfare:

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Each individual usually takes his own provisions with him. He takes some mescal and dried meat which he carries in a buckskin or hide bag attached to his shoulder strap (bandoleer). The fire drill, if he has one with him, can be carried in this bag too. He carries water in a container made of the intestines of animals. He just ties the ends to keep it shut. He doesn't carry a water jar, because they

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

THE ROUND OF LIFE

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Only two play against each other at a time. When they start to play, one takes the hoop, and they walk to the center. Each man is holding his pole. These poles are long, almost as long as the playing field. One of the poles is colored red at the butt end. The one with the hoop rolls it toward the grass ridges, using an underhand motion. When the hoop is about to fall over, the men slide their poles after it. Each wants the butt of his pole to fall under the hoop. The butt of the pole is notched and marked, and each notched part which shows up under the hoop counts so much. The hoop is notched too, and it also has a knotted string tied across the middle. We call these knots "beads"; the biggest knot is in the middle.⁶ You make something, too, according to the notches or the "beads" which cross the pole. All these notches have names. You agree on how much they should count before the game begins, and you agree how many points are needed to win.

The two men play from the center, first to the east, and then to the west. Only the winning throw is counted each time, and only one score, that of the man who is ahead, is kept. What he gets is added to his score and what the other fellow gets is subtracted from it. Men gamble a great deal on this game.⁷

In a real game of this kind you are not allowed to cross the playing field from the east while anyone is throwing. That's the rule. I don't know why it is, but they play it like that. And they don't allow any dog near the grounds where they are playing hoop-and-pole. Also it is strictly forbidden any girl or woman to go anywhere near the hoop-and-pole ground. Any woman who comes around will get swollen joints and pains in her legs. And it would sort of paralyze her. The women never come near the place; they go a long way to avoid it. If a woman even comes in sight, the men straighten up and hold the pole up straight until she passes out of sight. Women and children know where the ground is and keep away from it. There are a good many things to remember in this game. A man who is playing doesn't like anyone to step on his shadow. It makes him lose his luck.

Little material is forthcoming concerning the origin and mythological background of the game, but the words of one informant suggest an association between the pole and the snake:⁸

⁶ One informant claims that there should be 50 "beads" on each side of the big "bead," making a total of 101. Another described a hoop which had 30 "beads" on each side of the big "bead." Evidently there are minor variations in the "ways" of the hoop-and-pole makers.

⁷ When the trickster Coyote loses all his possessions in a gambling game, it is, characteristically, the hoop-and-pole game he is said to have been playing.

⁸ When M. R. Harrington purchased a hoop-and-pole set from its Chiricahua maker in 1909, he was told: "The red paint on the wheel and on one pole represents a snake. Two men were arguing as to who had the strongest supernatural power. Finally, one took a snake and made a hoop of it to show his power. Not to be outdone, the other took a snake and transformed it into a pole. Then, as

821 Space does not permit a full discussion of the restric-
• 784 tions in food, speech, and even in the color of objects dis-
776 played during a storm, which are obeyed in order to appease
the thunder people. But enough has been given, perhaps, to
demonstrate that the Apache conceive of this natural force
as alive and personified.

825 The same characterization attaches to insects and ani-
mals. To kill a spider will bring retaliation by his fellows.
Therefore it is customary when an Apache has inadvertently
stepped on a spider for him to say, "So-and-So killed you,"
[648] naming someone he especially dislikes. During the wars
with the United States soldiers a favorite remark was,
"Washington did it," when such a mishap occurred. The
[753] malice of a mistreated horse or dog was said to result in
serious consequences, and the ants were said to afflict any-
one with bladder stones who urinated in or near their hills.

825 The extent to which it was thought necessary to go in
224 order to win the approval and co-operation of the animal
world is clearly indicated in hunting practices. The customs
pertaining to the hunting of deer will serve as an example.
[824] The deer are said to be sensitive to certain plants, such as
wild onions and osha, and will hide from a hunter who digs
them up or eats them immediately before the hunt. To eat
825 before leaving for the hunt would be to forfeit any chance
224 of success; even if there is an abundance of food at hand, the
784 hunter must go out hungry, for the deer are not likely to take
[264] pity on a full stomach and reveal themselves. When the kill
is made, the head must be turned to the east, and, in butcher-
ing, the carcass may never be straddled, nor may the hunter
walk on the east side past the head. The lower end of the
big intestine must be left for Raven. The eyes must be
kept from Raven till the meat is brought in, otherwise, the
game would not be fit for consumption. If a hunter should
be unable to find or kill deer for some time, he would assume
[787] that he had been careless in one of these or similar particu-
lars and would go to a man who has a ceremony from deer
in order to learn what he had done "against" the deer and
how to correct matters.

755 fourth verse of the songs, or at the end of the second or fourth song, he looks for some sign or word from his power which will guide him in the further steps to be taken. If sorcery has caused the complaint, the object shot into the victim by the sorcerer may have to be sucked out, either through a tube or with the lips. A concoction of herbs as medicine may be prescribed. Food and behavior taboos may be imposed on the patient. Various plants may be burned that the patient may inhale the smoke. Parts of animals and ceremonial objects may be rubbed on the sufferer's body.

755 82 Red ochre, white clay, and specular iron ore figure prominently in Apache ceremonials in addition to the ritual objects already mentioned. Snakeweed (*Gutierrezia* sp.), grama grass (*Bouteloua* sp.) and sage (*Artemisia* sp.) are plants much used in ceremonial contexts. The source from which curative power comes is nearly always represented in the rite by some body part. If that source is animal, its hide or some part of it will be in evidence. If it is a bird, the tail feather will, in all likelihood, be found among the ceremonial paraphernalia manipulated.

778 787 789 Though curing occupies the central place in Apache ceremonialism, power can be approached with other ends in view, and its aid obtained for locating the enemy, finding lost objects, helping in the hunt, for learning the probable outcome of a given course of action, and for the solving of many other problems.

852 There were ceremonies, too, which were performed over the growing child at specific times to insure for him long life and good health. A ceremony was held when the child was put into the cradle; another when he was about to walk. About a year later, in the spring, a rite was performed in which the hair was cut, that it might afterwards grow out full and thick.

881 The only Apache ceremony which deviated from the shamanistic principle and which did not depend for its success upon the personal relation between a shaman and his power, was the girl's puberty rite. This was a rite which in theory had been taught to the Apache by the culture hero

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2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934) 1936
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with his nails. He obeyed a number of food and behavior restrictions during these journeys. He spoke in a special "war-path language" that had been taught him, in which all sacred subjects and objects that have to do with the raid and war-path were referred to by other than the ordinary terms. Thus a horse was called "one with nose to the ground," pollen was called, "it renews life," and a mountain in enemy country was called, "one I have not seen before." During these first four expeditions the boy had to obey every order of the warriors. He went for the water, built the fires, cared for the horses, and stood watch over the camp. He was not expected to share any of the fighting or dangers of these first four journeys, but when he went for the fifth time, with his apprenticeship and boyhood behind him, he felt obligated to act with conspicuous bravery.

Apache war dances and victory dances were vigorous representations by the warriors of the battle to come or the conflict from which they had just emerged. A large fire was kindled in the evening at a level place. To the side of it singers squatted before large pieces of rawhide. The singers beat the hide with sticks and began the war songs. They would call the name of the warrior and ask him to show what he would do or had done. With a bound the warrior named would appear before the fire in full battle array, and by flourishing his weapons, dodging dexterously to avoid the enemies' arrows, and engaging in a pantomime of the encounter, he would depict his prowess in war. Then others would be called until all those who were connected with the expedition had a chance to participate.

Women watched the dancing from a little distance and occasionally uttered a high-pitched, keening-like cry which indicated applause, but no woman took part in the dance. During this dance all women had to be addressed as White-Painted Woman, the most prominent character of her sex in Apache mythology and the mother of the culture hero.

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2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934) 1936
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[412] to chop off the leaves, two being left for tying the crowns together, thus making transportation more convenient. The naked crowns are bulbous, white in color, and from one to two feet in circumference.

Pits in which the crowns are baked are about ten to twelve feet in diameter and three or four feet deep, lined with large flat rocks. On the largest rock, which is placed in the center, a cross is made with black ashes. Rocks are piled on the flat stones, but care is always taken that the top shall be level. Upon this, oak (*Quercus* sp.) and juniper wood (*Juniperus* sp.) are placed. Before the sun comes up this is set on fire and by noon the fire has died down.

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824 On these hot stones is laid moist grass, such as bunch-grass (*Sporobolus airoides*), side-oats grama (*Bouteloua curtipendula*), Texan crab-grass (*Schedonardus paniculatus*), big blue-stem (*Andropogon furcatus*), mesquite grass (*Muhlenbergia wrightii*), marsh foxtail (*Alopecurus arisulatus*), *Muhlenbergia neomexicana*, or the leaves of bear grass (*Nolina microcarpa*), but bear grass is usually preferred since it does not burn readily. The largest mescal

[988] crown is selected and a cross made on it with tule or cat-tail pollen (*Typha latifolia*), when this is available, the pollen always being placed on the crown from East to West and from North to South. The Indians then pray. Holding the large crown toward the opening of the pit four times, they toss it in and throw the other crowns in after it. Next they have the youngest child present stand at the east of the pit and throw four stones into it. It should be made clear that this little ceremony held at the time of baking varies among different family groups and the above description should be regarded as one of a type rather than a fixed performance. After the mescal has been covered with the long leaves of bear grass and the whole with earth to a depth sufficient to prevent steam from escaping, the crowns are allowed to bake the rest of the day and all night. Early in the morning the pit is opened and a crown examined and eaten. The pit is again closed and the Indians refrain from drinking until noon of this day so as to prevent rain.

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756 These staffs figure in ceremonies. The shaman is directed how
778 to make them by his power. They may be decorated with
[237] feathers or with something pertaining to the ceremony of the
one who makes it, perhaps a snake or lightning. They vary in
size.

[787] A shaman can hear from the power through the turquoise and
feather. When the shaman prays he uses the feather. If the
feather raises itself, he knows the prayer is heard. If the tur-
quoise moves, it is the same.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, pp. 260-61.)

756 The shaman makes certain that any spectators at the ceremony
755 he conducts are reverent and well-behaved. Not infrequently
796 there are special obligations which remind the on-looker of the
• 784 solemnity of the occasion. About these insistences, a younger,
[596] socially-minded Chiricahua explained:

It was pretty hard for us younger people to attend. There are
always restrictions on everyone who is there. For some cere-
monies you can't leave before it is all over for that evening;
for some you can't sleep. So we didn't care so much to be at
these curing ceremonies. But we always went to the girl's
puberty rite, for you could always have a good time there.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, p. 259.)

755 The source of power, speaking through the shaman, usually
756 places some food or behavior restriction on the patient. Failure
784 to observe this is construed as carelessness or levity in respect to
[778] the rite and is likely to lead to a relapse. Many of the failures
[787] to cure permanently are explained in this way. Some of the
most common post-ritual restrictions are summarized in these
statements:

The shaman has his reasons. He doesn't always tell the patients
why, but he tells them to keep the paint (which has been ap-
plied during the ceremony) on for so many days before taking
it off.

CHIRICAHUA APACHE POWER

13

When a shaman finishes a curing ceremony over you, he gives you directions about things that you must not do or eat. . . . Restrictions that I have seen put on people are these: the person must not let anyone stand to the east of him; he must not let anyone cast a shadow on him; he must not eat meat from a cow's head; he must not eat liver; he must not eat bacon; if someone gives him a piece of fruit and it drops, he must not pick it up again and eat it.

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If you are sick the shaman might tell you, "Don't let anyone stand to the east of you, in the way of the sun." Then you don't like it and tell anyone doing it to sit down. Some have a restriction that no one can stand over them; others that no one can stretch out his feet before them.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, pp. 265-266.)

From what has already been described it is evident that, in the view of the Chiricahua Apache, the usefulness and success of the shaman are directly related to the rapport he establishes with the power which has chosen to "work through him." If his power is somehow alienated or angered, the ceremonialist will pray and sing his sacred songs in vain. Therefore a Chiricahua is extremely circumspect when referring to his power. An informant expressed some wonder that "the white man in his swearing uses things and people that he says he believes in and calls holy. When a Chiricahua swears, he mentions only things he fears and hates." In making decisions which involve his ceremony a shaman's power must be consulted. This is vividly revealed in the musings of the shaman who had misgivings over discussing details of ceremonial lore.

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It is a big thing to me. I'm afraid of it. Something is holding me back. I might put myself in trouble with the power . . . and today I feel that the power is holding on. I feel in my heart and mind that something is holding me back. I'm afraid. Tonight I am going to sing to my power. I am going to ask about the things that I have given (told) you. "Is it right to do that?" I am going to ask my power. I don't know what you are going to do with this (information) but Power will tell

756 me about it. So tonight I will sing and talk to my power to
778 find out whether it is all right to go on with it.
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756 The lightest punishment for somehow offending the source of
778 power is the loss of its cooperation and the voiding of the cere-
784 mony. Some Chiricahua fear misfortune and persecution by the
power, in addition.

A person keeps his power by obeying his power source, by not leaving out anything. It is just as if you had men working under you; you like the man who does everything just so, but you turn out the man who doesn't carry out everything as you direct. If the mistake is not made intentionally the shaman and members of his family are not in danger, though.

[761] When they have a ceremony, they always have to do it exactly
[753] right, and when they don't do it right, there is sickness or death in the family. I have noticed that if the rules are not followed just so, trouble comes,—a death or something. Power takes one of their family. That is why some people reject power when it is offered and want to remain as they are. There is a big penalty for not doing exactly what is laid down. If a shaman makes mistakes, says the prayers wrong, or something like that, he must repeat them.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, pp. 207-10.)

756 Normally, however, the Chiricahua shaman views his close as-
778 sociation with his power source in a positive light. It provides
780 him with a basis for appealing to supernatural power in time of
182 emergency, for pleading with power, cajoling it, and even scold-
ing it for non-performance of duty when it fails to heal or help.